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"The Right Hon. Gentleman" (Mr. Windham) "seems determined to have the last word on the subject of the Volunteer Corps. A solitary instance was stated by the Right Hon. Gent. on a former night, of a corps being governed by a Committee! I have seen many Corps of Volunteers, and have heard of more, but I know of no such regulations. Nothing should ever induce me to hold any commission in such a corps, or to have any thing to do with it. I will tell the Right Hon. Gent. that every corner of the Kingdom echoes back its reprobation of his sentiments relative to the Volunteer System. Is the Right Hon. Gent. so grossly ignorant, as not to know what glorious exploits have been performed by the patriotic and voluntary energy of men like our Volunteers?" — Mr. Hiley Addington's Speech on the Volunteer Exemption Bill, Dec. 14, 1803.

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AN

ANALYTICAL AND COMPARATIVE VIEW

Of two pamphlets, lately published, the one entitled, "Cursory Remarks upon the State of Parties, during the administration of Mr. Addington, by a NEAR OBSERVER;" and the other entitled, "A Plain Answer to the misrepresentations and calumnies contained in the Cursory Remarks of a Near Observer, by A MORE ACCURATE OBSERVER."

(Continued from p. 48.)

Mr. Canning, Lord Grenville, and Mr. Windham are, as I have before observed, noticed by the Accurate Observer; but, how he has defended them, what sort of "answer" he has made to the "misrepresentations and calumnies" uttered against them by the Near Observer, we are now about to see.

The attack upon Mr. Canning is made in such a way as to render it almost impossible to exhibit it here in the shape of extracts: yet, I shall, as far as is consistent with a due regard to the readers patience, keep to the Near Observer's own words. He wishes to propagate a belief, that, though Mr. Pitt approved of, or, at least, defended in parliament, all the principal measures of the ministers, particularly the peace, *his sincerity was rendered very questionable* by the conduct of his personal friends, and the members most attached and devoted to him by the habits of private life, who, in this respect, took the liberty of disclaiming him for their leader, and who indulged in every species of rancour, malice, and hostility, against the person who, at his own recommendation, had been chosen as his successor. After having drawn, from the conduct of Mr. Pitt's personal friends, of whom Mr. Canning is placed at the head, a conclusion, that "the public could not be brought im-

plicitly to believe, either that the acceptance of the new ministers itself, or, at any rate, the credit and popularity, which they had acquired by the late happy events, had been altogether agreeable to Mr. Pitt;" after this he proceeds in a strain of interrogation, as follows: "If I were as certain of not giving offence, as I am free from intending it, and of being as little suspected of a flattery, as I am incapable of meaning one" [This is the true Addington cant] "I would venture to ask of Mr. Canning himself, for whose agreeable talents and private worth I have as much respect as any man, whether it were possible for these inferences and conclusions to have escaped his own good sense and sagacity? Whether he did not feel that he was throwing a suspicion over the candour and sincerity of Mr. Pitt? and in case that any possible measures of the present ministers, at any future time, might compel the conscience of Mr. Pitt to withdraw his promised support from them, and to take an active part in opposition to them, whether he did not perceive that he was undermining and destroying beforehand the conviction and credit of the country, in the compulsion of his right honourable friend's conscience? Whether he did not perceive that he was exposing that late, contingent, constrained, and possible opposition to the suspicion of system concert and policy? — I would ask of Mr. Canning whether it were not too great a submission of his rare talents and acquirements, to appear a mere partisan and stickler for the House of Grenville? — I would ask of Mr. Canning, (for whom I repeat that I entertain a considerable degree of respect and good-will), whether, in the deference and distinction with which he has always affected to treat his noble friend Lord Hawkesbury,

" he was pleasing the old ministry? and
 " whether his personalities towards Mr.
 " Addington did not lead him in these ci-
 " vilities to mortify Lord Grenville? But
 " if his regard for Lord Hawkesbury could
 " conquer the fear of offending Lord Gren-
 " ville, why might not his regard for Mr.
 " Pitt have overcome his antipathy to Mr.
 " Addington? I would ask whether he
 " could feel no repugnance at becoming
 " the instrument, (I will not say the ma-
 " chine) of other persons? If the delicacy
 " of his feelings were quite satisfied as to
 " the justice, the honour, or the decency
 " of being the organ of their hatred, their
 " fury, their pride, disappointment, and
 " rancour, against persons with whom he
 " had long lived in habits of political and
 " private intimacy, for whom he had pro-
 " fessed friendship and esteem; against
 " Mr. Addington, the bosom friend of his
 " patron, and against Lord Chatham, his
 " brother? — I would ask of Mr. Can-
 " ning whether he felt no scruple or com-
 " punction for himself, whether he had no
 " respect or mercy for the feelings of Mr.
 " Pitt, when he consented to become the
 " chief of the satyrists and scoffers of a ca-
 " binet, of which Lord Chatham was the
 " president? and I would ask him whether
 " he had been juster to himself, and to his
 " own political character, than we have
 " seen him to the sensibility of his friend
 " and patron, when he condescended to
 " become a hero of squibs and epigrams, a
 " leader of doggrel and lampoon, a power
 " in the way of abuse and invective, an
 " instrument of Mr. Windham, and an
 " auxiliary of Cobbett?" — In another
 place Mr. Canning is accused of suddenly
 shifting about in favour of peace, at the
 time when the King's message of the 8th
 of March last was delivered to the Parlia-
 ment, and, the proof of this is cited in the
 following words, taken from his speech of
 the 8th of December preceding: "The
 " message has excited throughout the
 " country the greatest *anxiety* and *alarm*."
 Taking these words, as in the case of Doc-
 tor Laurence and Mr. Grenville, even in
 their detached state, how can they be in-
 terpreted into an expression of a desire to
 preserve peace? And, if such were their
 true meaning, how do they discover any
 sudden shifting about in Mr. Canning, who,
 whatever he might have thought, certainly
 never ~~sat~~ ^{rose} against the peace with France.
 But, the words above quoted will bear no
 such construction as that, which has been
 attempted to be put upon them. They
 make part of a sentence in a speech which

contained not a single word about the ex-
 pediency of peace or war, but the sole ob-
 ject of which appeared to be to impress
 upon the minds of the House the necessity
 of obtaining *information* as to the cause of so
 important and so unexpected a measure as
 that which had just been announced to
 them. "Never," said Mr. Canning, "I
 " venture to assert, was so important a
 " measure proposed on such grounds as
 " those which are made the foundation for
 " the present address: alarm and anxiety
 " are excited, and the grounds of this
 " anxiety and alarm are carefully involved
 " in obscurity *." Was it fair, was it can-
 did in the candid and pious Addingtons, to
 select out of this sentence the words,
 " *anxiety* and *alarm*," and to make them
 apply to Mr. Canning's feelings with re-
 spect to the prospect of war? Was it con-
 sistent, I do not say with sentiments of ho-
 nour, but with principles of common
 honesty, to garble a sentence in such a
 manner and for such a purpose?

To have exposed a misrepresentation so
 gross and so base as this, would not, one
 would think, have been too much to expect
 from one, who professed to be so very Accu-
 rate an *Observer*, and who undertook to
 give an *answer* to all the misrepresentations
 and calumnies in the ministerial pamphlet.
 But, we shall, in pursuing our examination
 a little further, find that, in what he has
 said of Mr. Canning as well as in what he
 has said of others, the Accurate *Observer*
 goes no further than the interests of Mr.
 Pitt require him to go. The charge which
 the *Near Observer* brings against Mr. Can-
 ning may be reduced to three points: first,
 that of acting as the under-handed agent,
 or tool of Mr. Pitt; second, that of being
 a mere partisan and stickler for the house
 of Grenville; third, that of being the
 " instrument of Mr. Windham, and the
 " auxiliary of Cobbett." Let us hear what
 the Accurate *Observer*, the defender and
 eulogist of Mr. Pitt, and the professed
 friend of Mr. Canning; let us hear how he
 answers these misrepresentations and ca-
 lumnyies. — "Mr. Canning," says he, "is
 " complimented most deservedly for rare
 " talents and private worth, but he is ac-
 " cused, not with a very good grace, by
 " the author of the 'Cursory Remarks,'
 " and without any proof, with libelling
 " those whom he opposes. He is also re-
 " presented as having become the 'in-
 " strument of other persons.' Mr. Can-

* See Debates, March 9, 1803. Register, Vol.
 III. p. 1365.

"ning appears to have felt very strongly
"the incapacity of the present ministers,
"and particularly of Mr. Addington; to
"have considered them as acting upon no
"system whatever, and, as well as Lord
"Grenville, to have founded his opposi-
"tion upon this ground; and to have ta-
"ken an active and a consistent part in
"endeavouring to enforce this opinion.
"No pretence whatever is stated for re-
"presenting him as acting under the con-
"trol of Lord Grenville, which would not
"equally have applied to any other emi-
"nent statesman, in whose opinions he
"had coincided, and who had taken the
"same line as himself. It is a novel doc-
"trine which pervades the whole of the
"‘Cursory Remarks,’ that if a person sup-
"ports the administration, he is supposed
"to act from the purest and most disin-
"terested motives; but if he opposes their
"measures, he is looked upon as the in-
"strument of others, or as acting under
"the influence of the meanest and the
"basest passions.—The insinuation that
"Mr. Canning’s conduct gives the oppo-
"sition which Mr. Pitt may have made, or
"may hereafter make, to any measure of
"Mr. Addington, ‘the suspicion of sys-
"tem, preconcert, and policy,’ is unwor-
"thy of a serious answer. What would
"our author have said of preconcert and
"system, if instead of taking different
"lines (and not without a good deal of dis-
"satisfaction towards each other on that
"account) Mr. Pitt and Mr. Canning had
"adopted the same systematic course of
"opposition?—This is not the first time
"that such insinuations have been thrown
"out, and the friends of Mr. Addington
"(or at least those who professed to be so)
"never ceased attempting to excite in his
"mind doubts of the sincerity of Mr. Pitt;
"Mr. Canning is asked whether he did
"not feel that (by his conduct) he was
"throwing ‘suspicions over that since-
"rity?’ a point upon which he is said to
"have ‘exculpated Mr. Pitt with great
"eloquence, but imperfect success.’ Mr.
"Canning attempted no exculpation what-
"ever from such a charge. He treated it
"as reflecting disgrace upon those alone
"who could harbour such a sentiment, and
"rejected the base imputation with scorn
"and contempt. It was not enough for
"these pretended friends of Mr. Adding-
"ton, that Mr. Pitt disapproved highly of Mr.
"Canning’s parliamentary conduct. It appear-
"ed as if nothing short of creating an ir-
"reconcileable enmity between these men
"could convince them of Mr. Pitt’s sin-

"cerity.”—And this is “an answer to
"misrepresentations and calumnies!” An
"answer which, except that it denies that
"Mr. Canning’s conduct amounts to a proof
"of Mr. Pitt’s insincerity, is no answer at all;
"and, it is very evident, that it was solely for
"the purpose of making this denial, that
"Mr. Canning was even named by the Accurate
"Observer. This generous defender does,
"indeed, slightly remark, that no pre-
"tence is stated for representing Mr. Can-
"ning as a mere partisan and stickler for the
"house of Grenville; but, as to the third
"point, as to the charge of being “a leader
"of doggrel and lampoon, a power in the
"war of abuse and invective, an instru-
"ment of Mr. Windham, and an auxiliary
"of Cobbett;” as to this the Accurate
"Observer leaves the public to conclude that
"no answer can be given. In the passage
"last quoted, the Near Observer alludes to
"the poetical *jeux d'esprit*, which appeared in
"Vol. III. of the Political Register, and many
"of which were, from their excellence, attri-
"buted to Mr. Canning. Of that which
"comes to me without a name I cannot, of
"course, know the author, except by acci-
"dent; and, therefore, I cannot say, that
"none of the articles in question were written
"by Mr. Canning; but, I can with perfect
"truth declare, that, while I *know* that sev-
"eral, and those of the most admired, were *not*
"written by him, I *do not know*, nor have I
"ever heard, except by way of mere guess,
"that any one of them, or that any article
"whatever, whether verse or prose, that has,
"at any time, appeared in the Register, *was*
"written by him. Mr. Long could not, in-
"deed, be certain of what is here stated;
"but, when he sat down to answer all the
"misrepresentations and falsehoods of the
"Near Observer, he might, surely, have
"taken the trouble to obtain from Mr. Can-
"ning himself correct information as to the
"state of this fact, a precaution which he has,
"in no instance, neglected, with respect to
"the charges preferred against Mr. Pitt. Be-
"sides, as Mr. Canning was accused of being
"a brother instrument *with me*, Mr. Long,
"though he could not positively assert that I
"was not an instrument of Mr. Windham,
"might have asserted that *he knew* that I was
"not to be made an instrument of the late mi-
"nistry, and might have left his readers to
"conclude therefrom, that, it was *not* very
"likely for me to become an instrument of a
"single member of that ministry, especially
"after he was out of place; or, he might
"safely have averred, that, if this really was
"the case, my disposition was precisely con-
"trary to that of all the writers, with whom

he had ever been acquainted.—But, to return, to Mr. Canning's public and parliamentary conduct; in what part of it do we perceive that slavish devotion to others, which the Addingtons have so calumniously attributed to him? Was his devotion to Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham discovered in his avoiding both to speak and to vote on any of the questions connected with the peace? Was his devotion to Mr. Pitt discovered in his speaking and voting in favour of Mr. Patten's motion? His conduct on these occasions needs merely to be referred to, in order to answer the misrepresentations of the Treasury pamphlet; but, this was, it seems, too laborious a task for the Accurate Observer.—The truth is, and it is a truth with which both Mr. Addington and Mr. Long were well acquainted, that Mr. Canning disapproved of the peace upon the same principles as Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham, but that, previous to the last general election, he held his seat by such a tenure, that he could not, without a breach of faith, act *against* the ministry in parliament, especially while they were supported by Mr. Pitt. After the election, when he found himself released from those obligations which had kept him silent, he, of course, acted for himself; and, accordingly, while we see him faithful to his friendship for Mr. Pitt, we also see him too independent to follow his friend, where he thinks him in the wrong, as in the instance of Mr. Patten's motion.—Was it too much for the Accurate Observer to state these facts? Or, did he think that the statement was by no means necessary to the vindication of Mr. Pitt? This gentleman, however, who has, by certain time-serving critics (of whom I shall speak hereafter), been highly extolled for his *candor*; this "accuse" and *candid* Observer does allow, that Mr. Canning possesses "agreeable talents and private worth," but, in estimating his *useful* talents and *public* worth, the reader has no other standard than that which is furnished him in the fact, which this *candid* person was the first to communicate to the world; to wit; "that Mr. Pitt highly disapproved of Mr. Canning's parliamentary conduct," a fact, the publishing of which, might serve to clear Mr. Pitt from the charge of insincerity, but, which, in the opinion of Mr. Pitt's eulogist, at least, could not be intended to render any great service to the character of Mr. Canning, who has, on this occasion, good reason to exclaim, in the words of his own elegant poem:

" Give me the avow'd, the erect, the manly foe:
" Bold I can meet,—perhaps may turn, his blow;

" But of all plagues, good heav'n, thy wrath can
" send,
" Save, save, oh! save me from the *candid friend!*"
(To be continued.)

VOLUNTEER-CORPS.

SIR,—On reading the debates on the "Volunteer Exemption Act," in a newspaper of the 15th of December last, a passage in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech most forcibly struck me, indeed, so forcibly, that I could scarcely believe my own eyes. It was, Sir, as follows: speaking of the volunteers he observes, "They are as good, and in many instances, better men than compose the militia, and may, in many instances, prove full as serviceable, whilst the present is a force unexampled in point of numbers." Gracious God! and is this the language of his Majesty's first minister? Are his Majesty's servants so completely infected with this *volunteer mania* as to be incurable? That they should hold out this species of force to the world to be as good, and as serviceable, and in many instances, better than the militia!!! The *militia* which has been styled one of the corner stones of the constitution: which has ever been regarded as a noble institution, and a thorough constitutional force: which had its origin at the earliest dawn of our greatness as a nation: which has in every instance most fully answered the intention of its creation; nay, from zeal has often exceeded the bounds prescribed: and which was classed by that enlightened statesman, Mr. Fox (when debating on the general defence act) with the *regulars*, whenever he spoke of the *army*, in contra-distinction to the *volunteers*.—It has of late, Sir, been much the fashion, amongst his Majesty's servants, and their partisans, to endeavour to raise a popular cry against Mr. Windham, in order, if possible, to shake the formidable opposition of that party to the measures of his Majesty's government. To this end they often have recourse to the most flagrant misrepresentations: amongst the foremost is their construction of Mr. Windham's observations on the militia; (who in reality said no more than every militia officer readily admits) but, Sir, for argument sake, allow for one moment that their representations are correct: to what does it amount when compared with the words of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Windham is accused of vilifying the militia, by drawing invidious comparisons between them and the troops of the line, the best soldiers in the world, Whereas Mr. Addington has placed

ed them in some instances on a par, in many instances below the volunteers, who are feather-bed soldiers, of the creation of a day, in great measure composed of mutinous and turbulent shop-keepers, not under martial law, subject to little or no control, managed by armed committees, who, in many instances dictate laws, cashier and appoint officers at discretion. But, Sir, when language to this effect was held in the House; Mr. H. Addington observed, that Mr. Windham drew his conclusions from a solitary instance, "*ab uno discere omnes*" (observed Mr. H. A.) "*is hardly a fair way of judging.*" Instead, Sir, of Mr. Windham having only a "*solitary instance*" to back his opinion, he might have adduced numberless equally to the point. I could myself prove it to be correct in many that have come within the sphere of my own knowledge. In no one more strong, than in the conduct of the * * * volunteer cavalry. Soon after they were formed, H. R. H. the Duke of Cumberland was appointed to the command of the Severn district: and some time after he came to * * *, he inspected the corps above-mentioned. They formed in a circle round him, and with a becoming zeal volunteered for any description of service he should deem most advisable. At this period they consisted of two troops mounted, and one dismounted, the mounted had captains appointed, the dismounted had not. The senior captain commanded. Soon after this a dispute arose with regard to the appointment of a major; this created a division in the corps, both amongst officers and men: the majority were displeased with the conduct of their senior captain; and forgetting the sacred pledge they had just made the Duke, forgetting the solemn engagement they had entered into by taking up arms in defence of their country at so momentous a period, they, together with the 2d captain and most of the officers, absolutely resigned and disbanded themselves. Soon afterwards a number of meetings were publicly advertised by the committee; at one of these meetings the captain withdrew his name, in consequence of what had happened; and this august committee, as though they had a commission superior to the Lord Lieutenant, re-appointed the officers, and re-embodied the men who had disbanded themselves!!! — The infantry corps of that place is large and respectable, and for the cheerfulness with which they performed certain duties, deserved commendation: but I was an ear witness to an observation made by a gentleman of the corps in a pub-

lic coffee-room, which to a military man appears replete with mutiny; he was speaking of some trifling change in the dress, which some of the corps wished to adopt when on duty, but which it appeared the lieutenant-colonel, (a truly valuable officer) objected to. "*No matter, (observed this gentleman) we shall soon have a committee of our own stamp, and then we shall have things comfortable!!!*" — Three companies of a regiment in Somersetshire, when the pikes were tendered them, would not touch them, and persisted in refusing, when ordered by the colonel in person. — I fear, Sir, I trespass too much upon your patience, I could enumerate numberless similar instances, but these, with others which have been publicly cited, sufficiently evince, that these gentlemen soldiers, who compose the "*lath and plaster*" army will, as they are now organized, both *think and act*, not only contrary to the opinion, but in direct opposition to the orders of their officers. — But, Sir, to return to my text, and to be as brief as possible, Mr. Addington's observation was weak in the extreme; if he thinks the militia are as much more useful, as they are expensive, in proportion to the volunteers, nothing could be more absurd. Or if he thinks, in point of utility, they can ever be inferior to, or even upon a par with a volunteer force, why give them, upon their present system, such sanction and supports, and why augment their numbers to such an extent. But, Sir, on such a subject the absurdity is too glaring to need pointing out. View it in what light you will, it was *im-politic*. In the course of last war, ministers found the *zeal of militia officers of great use*, with regard to Ireland and other services; and how far it was prudent to trifle with that *zeal*, is a point I must leave to Mr. Addington's consideration. — I am, Sir, with great respect, your obedient servant,

J. O.

Exeter, Jan. 11, 1804.

INCOME TAX.

SIR,—However beautiful the buildings, however charming the prospects that floated before the eyes of the founders and the framers of the income tax, they are but castles in the air; schemes which look well enough on paper, but never can be put in practice. Measures founded (I allow) on sound financial principles, but which under no government, and in no country, can be carried into effect, until the dominion of truth is universal and self-interest annihilated. — Under these impressions I have been

led to look for some method by which a large supply may be raised, without involving the difficulties which attend the present income tax; and in the present era of our financial career, the field is not very extensive. I can discover no competent subject of taxation, but that of landed and funded property. I would wipe out all the odious part of the income tax, and would leave only a tax on landed and funded property, which, assessed and collected on the plan I should propose, would produce a sum approaching even to the whole receipt of the income tax, and which would become a sure and lasting source of annual supply.

—A new and equal land tax is a scheme supposed to have been long in contemplation, and kept as a kind of corps de reserve for worse times. But surely there can be no solid argument against raising the supplies in the most easy and efficacious manner. I can see no reason for husbanding this part of our resources at the expense of another, and at the expense too of our comfort and happiness.—A tax on the funds has also been in contemplation, but has hitherto been prevented by arguments, which, to me, have always appeared absurd. It is said, the faith of government is pledged against it. The faith of government is equally pledged that no law whatsoever shall be made to affect the property of any man. It may as well be said, that the parson is aggrieved by the residence bill or the curate's bill, because it has lessened the value of his benefice. When I buy an estate or buy stock, I equally know that the legislature may impose a tax on it, and a tax on the one, therefore, is no greater hardship than on the other.—The *new tax* then that I would propose, is, an annual tax of one shilling in the pound on the present yearly value of all lands, houses, tythes, offices, and other hereditaments in the kingdom, and on the yearly dividend of all stock in the public funds, whether the property of residents or foreigners. The annual value of lands to be ascertained by an actual survey and valuation of the whole kingdom, which, however arduous a task it may at first seem, may, I am convinced, be accomplished at no very great expense in the course of a few months; and I am equally convinced, that there is no other means whatever of getting at the fair and equal value of lands. The tax would be imposed in the first instance on the occupier, permitting him to deduct 1s. in the pound out of his rent.—The land tax would be collected by the same officers, and under the same regulations as the present land tax; and the fund tax would be collected at the

Bank, without any risk or expense whatsoever.—The produce of the fund tax may be in a moment ascertained by reference to the amount of the interest of the national debt. The produce of the land tax is not so easily ascertained, but I am convinced it would, at least, be equal to the present land tax at 4s. in the pound. So that upon this supposition the whole produce of the new tax would be about two millions.—I am aware of one objection which must immediately occur, that the tax is partial. My answer to this is, that the profit of labour, for obvious reasons, ought not to be taxed at all; that the savings of such labour will, most probably, immediately become the subject of tax; that though the value of private securities may be enhanced at the expense of the public ones, yet this evil, if it is one, cannot in its nature be extensive; and that if the tax tends to drive the monied man into speculations of trade, it will in that respect tend to the ultimate benefit of the country.—The ideas I have suggested have no claim to novelty, but my object is merely to call the attention of the public to a scheme of taxation which must sooner or later be adopted, to point out a measure which we must be driven to at last, and to suggest that there is no reason for harassing ourselves with the income tax, whilst any other subject of taxation remains unoccupied.

R. B.

SOCIETY FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF VICE.

SIR,—An attack of some asperity has lately appeared in your Register against the Society for the Suppression of Vice. To say the least of this society, it is composed of gentlemen, not only of the first rank, but, what is more to the purpose, of the most solid piety and talents in the kingdom. I shall make no apology for this defence, as, with your usual candour, you have invited it.—Of the general propriety of such associations, for such purposes, I should think there could be but one opinion. I shall not run into the common place assertion, that the world increases in corruption as in age, and that our morality is at a lower point than that of our fathers; but it cannot be denied, that though the general stock of vice, as arising in all ages from the same source, is, perhaps, in all ages nearly the same, yet that some eras have been more favourable than others to the growth of some particular vice, and thus, with regard to this, the corruption is greater at one time than another. Thus the dark ages were those of bigotry, and that cruelty of per-

cution which invariably attends upon religious zeal. The present age has run into the contrary extreme; this is the age of infidelity, and the new philosophy.. Unite the emblematic representations of the four first monarchies in the sublime and prophetic image of Daniel, the clay, the iron, and the brass; compose the allegoric monster of feet of clay, of a heart of iron, and a front of brass, and you have no bad image of a fifth monarchy, that of infidelity, and the new philosophy. The baseness of its origin can only be equalled by its effrontery, and its insensibility to every human affection, and charity is such as will scarcely permit us to rank it among those moral essences, to which the understanding of man, in its utmost depravity, can be supposed to give birth. We owe it to the benevolence of Providence, that the sacred fabric of our church and monarchy has not as yet sunk beneath its arm; but it has sapped what it was not able to overthrow, and the structures yet tremble with the shock it has given to their foundations. Yes, Sir, I repeat it with real regret, that our national faith in the truths of christianity, is at present neither so general, nor so firm against attacks, as in the happier days even of our fathers. — With these premises permit me to ask this question: are the assaults of this demoniac vigour to be opposed by ordinary and insufficient resources? When every thing is in association against religion and morality, is nothing to associate for its support? When by the removal of one of the bars of moral restraint, the belief of future retribution, the passions have obtained greater license, is the broken bar to be renewed, or are we to remain spectators of its ravage till it terminates in general ruin. It is in the necessity of things that zeal can only be opposed by zeal, and that what is bigotry in a bad cause, is enthusiasm in a good one. In a word, it is to such associations that half the venerable institutions in the world, owe, not only their original birth, but their permanence to the present time. By the league of Smalkald our present national religion was established. On the other hand, by that of the League, the Catholic church was preserved in a country in which it is now disgraced. To produce an instance in the memory of every one, the association at the commencement of the late war has been acknowledged by all to have saved the constitution.—So much as to the general effect and utility of associations. But to proceed to the particular arguments of the assailants of the Society for the Suppression of Vice. The society has found it necessary to employ some

under agents to discover the practices which it professes to supervise and correct. This, say the assailants, is introducing the system of Espionage; and what injustice, they exclaim, may not result from such a practice? These evils may be reduced to two; first, that the rewards of the society tempt the informers, upon any defect of matter, to false information: secondly, that the fury may thus be led to punish innocence.—With regard to the first argument, that these under agents should be laid aside, because they may be occasionally corrupt, it may briefly be answered, that it is one of those sophistries which objects to the introduction of a thing of general utility, because it is subject to some particular inconvenience. Every instrument must be considered either as useful or pernicious, according to the utility or inconvenience of its natural application, and not of its occasional deviation. If the system of the society, in thus encouraging informers, be that of tempting them to perjury; if this be the direct and immediate effect of their rewards, the system is doubtless bad; but if the evil of false information be only incidental, and the effect of employing these agents, however contemptible in themselves, be generally not only good but necessary; if the rat is only to be hunted to his hole by the ferret, and iniquity can only be tracked to its burrows, by beings like itself, there is an end of all objection against the use of informers. In a word, this principle of moral law is no less certain than clear; that every thing is to be considered as good or evil, according to its general, and not to its particular nature, according to its direct and immediate, and not to its casual or incidental effects. With regard to the second argument, the possibility of the conviction of innocence, the assailant here confounds the notions of judge and accuser; the informer is but the accuser, the jury has to decide upon the weight of his evidence. The character of the informer is here doubtless considered, with every usual, indeed, suitable allowance against him, and balanced against the general reputation of the accused. From the usual caution of the court, in all such cases, none but the strongest guilt can be effectual to convict.

There is a third objection, that this system of informers is to do evil that good may come of it; this is the same error which we have above answered, that of mistaking the exception for the rule, the particular for the general. It is, doubtless, the duty of every one to promote public justice, and though an informer, by a prejudice rather belonging to sentiment than to morals, be an odious

name, it is certain that, in the discharge of public accusation, he commits no breach of moral duty. If the society reward him for this office, they only reward him for the performance of a duty, to which prejudice alone has attached an unjust ignominy. The informer, in receiving his reward, doubtless, loses the merit of this discharge, but he is still guiltless of any crime; he is thus not to be considered as being bribed to ill, but as being rewarded for doing good: the act is honest, and the society, as a human institution, is bound to look no further. Nor is there more in the final argument against the society. The assailants say, if this unusual zeal of persecution be permitted in one thing, it may at length be extended indefinitely to fanatic prosecutions on old and dormant statutes, such as against Roman Catholics, &c. &c. &c. If such laws exist, however oppressive, they are still the laws of the land; now if we suppose them (a presumption, by the way, impossible) from the operation of such societies to be called into effect, a very different event must result from what this argument supposes. Either their execution will be permitted, or the legislative power interfere. If the former condition of the dilemma take place, it will be a proof that the laws are not so abhorrent from natural reason, and the improved manners of the times; no evil, therefore, can here result from the zeal of such societies. On the contrary, if finding them thus abhorrent, the legislature should interpose (as doubtless it would) in their repeal, the zeal of the society will then have answered no other purpose than that of awakening the legislative power to rescind the obnoxious statutes from the code. In a word, this objection only proceeds on a point of probable inconvenience; I think, therefore, it is sufficiently answered by this proof of a more probable good.—This argument extends to their final objection, that such societies, in their fanatic zeal, may prosecute the excesses of amusements (which Parliament has been pleased to connive at), such as bull-baiting, &c. &c. &c.—This I consider as answered in what I have said above; for such prosecutions to have any effect they must be grounded upon law. Now, in all cases, where the definition of a statute, from the general nature of its subject, is vague and comprehensive, such as the acts upon tumults and rioting, &c. &c. a great discretionary power is wisely given to the magistrates; in the exercise of which they are still under the restraints of responsibility, more particularly of character. Oppression becomes thus almost impossible.

The discretionary power of the magistrates is thus enabled, and even indirectly compelled to discountenance and resist any such over zealous prosecutions. The majority of a county must be presumed to be puritanicals before such indictments, in the spirit of puritanism, could obtain even an hearing.—I am, Sir, your humble servant,

HENRY GRIMSTON,
A Member of the Committee.
No. 5, Young Street, Kensington,
January 16, 1804.

CONSECRATING COLOURS.

SIR,—Ever since the invasionary fears of this kingdom have been so valorously excited, the public prints are swelled with the elegant speeches, bold replies, pious orgies, and sumptuous dinners at the presentation, or what is sometimes improperly called, the *consecration* of colours.—“Oh! such marchings and countermarchings, from Brentford to Ealing, from Ealing to Acton, from Acton to Uxbridge, the dust flying, sun scorching, men sweating.”—Such accounts of these martial farces were too ridiculous for animadversion; and even while the term *consecration* appeared to be a mere popular mistake, without being likely to become attended with any mischievous effect, silence has been the best comment on it.

—But now, Sir, if the newspapers are to be credited, and they, in the present cast, bear too many marks of authenticity for doubt, the proceedings at one of these fêtes demand the most serious consideration, whether we consider it as involving the honour of her Majesty, or degrading the pure simplicity of the established Church of England.—We read in three triumphant columns of a ministerial print, that the colours worked by royal hands, were presented by her Majesty’s proxy, and in her name, to the several companies of Pimlico Volunteers in the rotunda at Ranelagh; that prayers were read by the Reverend Weedon Butler, Jun.—that a sermon was preached on the occasion, and to give the greater theatrical effect to this scene, Messrs. Braham, Incledon, &c. assisted the choristers of both cathedrals with their voices.—There can be no doubt that ministers of the Church of England may and ought to read prayers and to preach on peculiar occasions in unconsecrated places; whether such an occasion and such a place are justifiable in the present instance, is another question—the only justifiable pleas are propriety or necessity, and it really appears, that a larger number of persons might have been accom-

modated, if at no nearer place, at Westminster Abbey; where the solemnity of the temple, the trophied honours of sepulchral tombs over the remains of heroes who died for their country, would have added a dignified, patriotic feeling, to which the frivolities of Ranelagh cannot be compared without a kind of sacrilege.—I will not say the pulpit is degraded and the desk profaned, which were removed to the rotunda; but, when we look back a few years to the circular letter of a prelate to his clergy on the subject of theatrical singers at charity sermons, we cannot but wonder at the names of Incledon and Braham among the choristers; and considering the whole of this motley scenery of “the sacred and profane,” how are we to reconcile the nice punctilious strainings of that prelate at every little gnat when he so quietly swallowed this camel?—It appears, Sir, however improper and indecorous it may be, that this ceremony should be permitted at Ranelagh at all, a reverend gentleman was not sufficiently gratified with what was permitted there; for we are given to understand, that he wished to introduce a prayer of his own composition, in order actually to consecrate the colours. This prayer has been hurried into the newspapers with such anxiety, and printed with such correctness as to betray, with something like certainty, its being sent there by the writer himself; and it was accompanied by a sort of complaint that her Majesty would not permit it to be used. If such was the case, so far from any blame attaching to her Majesty, she deserves the highest claim for her discriminating judgment.—Of the composition of the prayer, to use a vulgar phrase, “the least said is the soonest mended.” New prayers even on the most urgent occasions should be cautiously used—both, as our common form embraces almost every possible occasion, and because, (somewhat to console this young gentleman for my remark) from all the specimens of occasional new prayers which have appeared for some years, there is much reason to conclude with a late bishop, that the true spirit of plum-porridge and prayer-making fell together. Indeed, for so young a clergyman to obtrude his MS. prayers on any pretence is so absurd, that I should as soon have expected her Majesty to turn author herself, and indulge the public with instructions for the cradle, and tales for the nursery.—But I do not mean so much to quarrel with the prayer itself, as the reverend gentleman’s apparent intention of consecrating the co-

lours by it. I have not the honour of his acquaintance, but in pure kindness have all along presumed him to be a very youth, perhaps in Deacon’s orders only, who has not had an opportunity of consulting his dictionary on the term, or inquiring into the history of it, and investigating to whom the powers of consecration belong. To consecrate is to “make holy,” “to devote any thing entirely to God.” It may be asked, if the colours are *not consecrated*, why do prayers precede the ceremony of presentation? There was a good old custom, still preserved in many places, and it were devoutly to be wished that it were preserved in many more, to hear prayers previous to every sort of public business; it is continued before the daily deliberations of both Houses of Parliament, &c.; and on certain days before the City companies, when they distribute their charities and dine with their liveries; but it never can be contended that they consecrate a turnpike bill at the one, or the turtle and venison of the other. As well might it be contended, that the First Consul, consecrated the invincible stars which your poor unrewarded friend, La... d to be vincible.—But if colour... to be consecrated, is the ceremony to be performed by a Deacon for such I hope for his reputation-sake, this gentleman is In the whole history o... the church we see the powers of consecration to be... in the Apostles and th... successors... is, Bishops; and we read, even in... es, of no consecrated banners but such as were blessed by the Pope himself, or by legatine authority; which word *legatine*, if this young gentleman should not understand it, may be explained by Lady Harrington’s appearance at Ranelagh as proxy.—This gentleman may tell me, that every priest has the power of consecrating the elements of the sacrament. I readily grant this, and have to observe upon it, that this power is particularly and specifically given to him as a priest, at ordination, and is derived from his legatine authority; and the power so specifically given at that time infers that he possesses it in no other.—I have troubled you, Sir, with this long letter to rescue her Majesty from the imputation of captiously depriving the colours, she munificently bestowed, of a portion of holiness, and to explain my opinion of consecration; fearful that many zealous, well-meaning persons, through the sanction which this reverend gentleman’s querulousness would have bestowed upon it, should be led into a gross superstition, respecting consecrated colours,

derogatory to the principles of the established church of England.—I am, Sir, your humble servant,

CLERICUS.

10th January, 1804.

PUBLIC PAPER.

Official Declaration of the Emperor sent to the Deputy of the Equestrian Order of Franconia.

The undersigned, Vice Chancellor of the Empire, has laid before his Imperial Majesty the most humble address, in which the thirteen members of the Equestrian Order of Franconia, summoned to Bamberg the 19th of November by the Bavaro Palatine Government, have given an account of the remarkable events of that day.—His Majesty has seen, with pleasure, by that address, that the said members of the Equestrian Order, regarding as they ought the intentions manifested of the date of the 3d of last month, and guided by that sentiment of attachment to their supreme Chief which they have inherited from their ancestors, have remained faithful to the Emperor and Empire; and that, conducting themselves as brave and loyal Germans, neither the menaces, nor the attacks actually made, have been able to turn them from the obligations which they have contracted by oath, nor from the constitution which has subsisted until the present moment, and has been solemnly sanctioned by the last decree of the empire.—His Majesty, in his quality as Supreme Chief and Defender of the rights of the Germanic League, has opposed an energetic interference, addressed to his Electoral Highness the Elector of Bavaria, formally demanding that the *status quo*, relative to the Equestrian Order, should be re-established in all its relations, such as it existed before his Highness took possession of the countries assigned to him as indemnities, and such as it has been solemnly guaranteed by the last decree of the General Diet: that it should not be troubled again in future with arbitrary steps and measures, and that for the particular differences that might exist, his Highness would never lose sight of what is prescribed by the decree of the Empire of 1753. That his Imperial Majesty expected from the character of the Elector, from his wisdom and his love of justice, that after having weighed with coolness this request of his Imperial Majesty, founded entirely upon the laws and the constitution, he would feel no difficulty to satisfy them completely, so much the more, as His Majesty the Emperor is firmly resolved, in his quality as Supreme Chief, and conformably with his duty, to maintain the

tranquillity of the Empire, to protect, by ulterior measures, the immediate Equestrian Order against all violence and oppression. The undersigned, Vice Chancellor of the Empire, has the honour to communicate this supreme decision to the Envoy of the Equestrian Order, in order that he may communicate it to his companions, and that they may find in it new encouragement to continue invariably in the glorious firmness which they have displayed, and in their attachment to the Supreme Chief and to the Constitution. (Signed)

PRINCE DE COLLOREDO MANSFIELD.

Vienna, Dec. 3.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

LETTER from Secretary Yorke, to the Lords Lieutenant of Counties, authorising the apprehension of such persons as may be clandestinely landed on the Coast, from Neutral Vessels.

Dated Whitehall, Dec. 24.

MY LORD,—It having appeared that Dutch vessels from Holland, under Prussian colours, have been in the practice of resorting to the East Coast of England, for the double purpose of carrying on contraband trade, and conveying intelligence to the enemy, it has been judged proper to direct that they should in future be prevented from so doing between the Humber and the Downs, Yarmouth Roads and the Downs excepted. As, however, the measures taken for this purpose, may, in some instances, be eluded, by their putting persons clandestinely on shore, where the coast will permit of it, I am to desire that your Lordship will particularly point the attention of the Magistrates residing in the neighbourhood of the coast of Essex to this circumstance, in order that they may direct the Peace Officers, to be particularly watchful in discovering any persons of this description, and in bringing them before the Magistrates to be examined; in which case I should wish that the result may be transmitted to me as speedily as possible.—I have the honour to be, &c. C. YORKE.

Copy of a Circular Letter from Mr. Secretary Yorke to the Lieutenants of the several Counties in Great Britain, dated Whitehall, 14th Jan. 1804.

MY LORD,—His Majesty's confidential servants have thought it to be their duty, on further considering the improvements of which the volunteer system is capable, to extend to it every useful aid and assistance which it can receive, consistent with a due attention to that principle of economy on

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which the whole system is founded, and have resolved to allow of adjutants and serjeant majors on permanent pay to corps of the different descriptions of force, consisting of the following numbers, without any other conditions or restrictions than such as may be applicable to the whole volunteer establishment.—Cavalry.—To every corps, consisting of not less than 300 effective rank and file of cavalry, an adjutant on permanent pay will be allowed.—[Pay when not called out into actual service, 6s. per day, 2s. ditto for a horse.]—To every corps of cavalry under 300 rank and file, but consisting of not less than three troops of 40 effective rank and file each, a serjeant major will be allowed on permanent pay.—[Pay when not called out into actual service, 3s. 1 1d. per day, including 9d. for a horse.]—Infantry.—To every corps of infantry, (including artillery) consisting of not less than 500 effective rank and file, one adjutant, and one serjeant major, on permanent pay, will be allowed—[Pay when not called out into actual service, 6s. per day; ditto of serjeant major, ditto 1s. 6d. per day, and 2s. 6d. per week extra.]—To every corps of infantry, consisting of not less than 300 effective rank and file, one adjutant, but no serjeant major, will be allowed on permanent pay.—[Pay 6s. per day as above.]—To a corps of infantry, under 300 effective rank and file, but consisting of not less than three companies of 60 privates each, one serjeant major will be allowed on permanent pay.—[Pay as above, 1s. 6d. per day, and 2s. 6d. per week extra.]—When the corps to which the adjutants and serjeant majors are appointed shall be called out on actual service by competent authority, these staff officers will receive the pay of their respective ranks, as in the line.—The adjutants are to be recommended by the Lords Lieutenants, for his Majesty's approbation, in the usual manner; but no recommendation of an adjutant can be attended to, unless the person recommended has served at least four years as a commissioned officer, or as a serjeant major in the regulars, embodied militia, fencibles, or East India Company's service; and the recommendation must likewise distinctly express the actual period of the service of the person recommended, and specify the particular corps in which that service was performed.—Serjeant majors may be appointed by the commandant of the corps, from among persons who have served at least three years as non-commissioned officers, in his Majesty's regular, embodied militia, or fencible forces; and the period of such service, and the particular corps in

which it was performed, are to be distinctly specified in the first pay list which shall be transmitted to the War Office after the appointment takes place.—All adjutants and serjeant-majors who are placed on permanent pay, are to consider themselves as, at all times, at the disposal and under the commanding officer of the corps for the time being, and are expected to give their attendance whenever required, for the drill, good order, and management of the corps.—It is not intended by this arrangement, to make any alteration as to the appointment of adjutants or serjeant majors without pay. They will still be allowed to corps of sufficient strength, as directed by the militia laws, and as before pointed out by the War-Office regulations of the 28th of September, 1803.

His Majesty's Lieutenant of the —

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

VOLUNTEER SYSTEM.—Some time ago, the dangers to be apprehended from the hostility of the enemy occupied men's minds; but now, the danger of the Volunteer-system, that system which was to save us from the enemy, has absorbed every other. The pert “right honourable relation” is said to have told Mr. Windham, that he appeared “determined to have the last word about the ‘volunteers.’” Would to God it had been the last word! but the “right honourable ‘relation’ will find, it is to be feared, that the affair of the volunteers will not end in the use of words. Upwards of eighteen months ago, I expressed my apprehensions, that the “Clerk would out-live the Pells;” and, though I am not very apt to despair, I must confess, that those apprehensions have been considerably increased by the rise and progress of the volunteer system; a system by which the corporal and mental energies, by which the patriotism, loyalty, liberality, and even courage, by which all the resources and all the public virtues of the country, are turned against itself, and made to work together for its destruction.—Since the publication of the preceding sheet, in which I endeavoured to call the attention of the public to this fearfully important subject, there have appeared some official documents, on which it will be necessary to make a few observations. But, previously, I think it right to correct an error in my statement relative to the scandalous proceedings at Chester. It appears, that Major Wilmot was not insulted by the volunteers of that place, at the time of their breaking open the jail. This gentleman, there-

fore, seeing the statement in the Register of last week, has written to Mr. Secretary Yorke a letter upon the subject, of which letter the following is an exact copy.—

" Chester, Jan. 16th, 1804.—Sir, a paper entitled Cobbett's Weekly Political Register, for Saturday, 14th Jan. 1804, was distributed in this city this morning. In it I was astonished to find some circumstances, regarding myself and the corps I have the honour to belong to, most grossly misrepresented, and, in respect to myself containing as great a falsehood as ever was published. He says: "on receiving a refusal, they were proceeding to attack the jail, when one of the officers, Major Wilmot (a gentleman who had served long in the regulars), came up, in his regimentals, and, after urging them in vain to desist, declared he would put the first of them to death, that attempted to force the jail; upon which he was immediately seized by the volunteers, who pinioned his arms, some of them calling out, at the same time, down with him, and others, break the sword over his head. By the assistance of some friends he was rescued from them unhurt."—And, in another part he says: "and, at the end of some days, peace was restored."—

" The above statement, I declare to you, upon my honour and word, is false, in every sentence, word, and line, except that part in the circumflex, which says "(a gentleman, who had served long in the regulars.)"—To the above I am ready to make oath, and transmit to you if you think proper.—I am, &c. &c. &c.
JOSEPH WILMOT, 1st Major Royal Chester Volunteers.—Post Script. I take the liberty to inform you, that, conformably with your directions, a regimental court of inquiry has been assembled some days. The proceedings, it is thought, will be forwarded to the Lord Lieutenant of the County to-morrow. And I have the pleasure to add, that the town has been perfectly quiet ever since the evening of the 28th of December, 1803.—Upon this letter it is not necessary for me to say much more, than that I am very glad to be able to lay it before those who have read my statement of the disgraceful affair in question; because, it is perfectly consonant with my interest as well as my inclination, to promulgate the truth. As, however, Major Wilmot's letter talks of "falsehood" contained in my statement, I must just observe, that, a mis-statement as to one circumstance amongst so many, and that one of inferior importance, when

compared to several of the others, cannot, when speaking of a statement drawn from sources such as mine were, be fairly called a "falsehood;" and, Major Wilmot may rest assured, that the public, instead of participating in his "astonishment," at the incorrectness of my statement, will be astonished at its correctness; and, he may also rest assured, that the few remaining advocates of the volunteer system will be greatly mortified to find, in his contradiction of one comparatively insignificant fact, a confirmation of a statement, in which the corps, that he has "the honour to belong to," is charged with having broke open one of the king's prisons, rescued a prisoner, chaired him through the streets of a city, tore down the king's flag, and dragged it in the kennel.—The Major states, that the Register was "distributed" in the city of Chester; and I only wish to observe, on this expression, that, the Register was distributed through the Post-Office only, and to persons who receive it from the news-men in London; or, at least, that I neither sent any copies to Chester, nor know of any having been sent.—He says, that every "sentence, word, and line," of what he has quoted from the Register is false; but, how does he make out that it was false to say: "And, at the end of some days, peace was restored?" He certainly does not mean, that peace was not restored at the end of some days; but, on the other hand, it is hardly credible, that he can wish the Secretary of State to believe, that peace was restored on "the evening of the 28th of December," when he must have been aware, that the Secretary of State had been informed, that, on the 29th of December, the magistrates wrote to Prince William of Gloucester, declaring, that without the aid of troops, they could not answer for the safety of the city? If this was the state of the city on the 29th, and if the city was crowded with people from the country to look at the ravages of the volunteers, and if the militia sent in to protect the city remained there for a fortnight, will it be believed, that my correspondent was guilty of a falsehood, in stating that, "at the end of some days, peace was restored?"—Upon the whole, therefore, I am afraid, that the volunteer system, and particularly the corps that Major Wilmot has "the honour to belong to," will derive but little benefit from his letter. If, on the one hand, he has wiped off the disgrace which the corps incurred from having been thought to assault their Major, on the other, it loses the honour which it enjoyed in a reported instance of the good and gallant conduct of that off-

cer. Amidst the scandal and infamy of the scene this conduct afforded us some little consolation: we saw, in the Chester volunteers, one man, whose respect for the laws and the magistracy led him to endeavour, at least, to prevent the atrocious outrage; but now, alas! we find, that the only part of the statement which was incorrect was that which afforded us this transitory glimpse of hope! — As to other and new instances of disagreement, indiscipline, and approaching confusion, the mass of materials is so great, so numerous are the cases of every description, that I know not where to begin. I could have filled two such sheets as this with the letters, which, since the 11th instant, I have received upon the subject. The proceedings in the Loyal (they are all *loyal* or *royal*, at Chester they are *royal*, it seems) Volunteers of Southwark embrace some instances of ministerial interference, and, therefore, they shall have the precedence. The quarrels in this corps were mentioned in the former sheet; but the statement was imperfect, and unaccompanied with the official documents, which I shall now insert at full length, because, as expressing the determination of ministers on a point of very great importance, they must be generally interesting: — Early in the present month the dispute arose between Mr. Colonel Tierney and the men of the 3d company of his Southwark regiment, who transmitted to him the following note and accompanying resolutions:

The third company, with the utmost respect, take the liberty of conveying their sentiments on the intended appointment of their officers to Colonel Tierney. They earnestly request that he will not consider their conduct as any failure in that esteem they have always entertained for him, but what they conceive to be due to their own *independence*. They flatter themselves that Colonel Tierney's liberal and exalted mind, will induce him not to think unfavourably of them on the present occasion. They beg him to accept their most sincere wishes for his health and happiness.

— Jan. 6, 1804.

At a general meeting of the third company of Loyal Southwark Volunteers, on the 6th of Jan. 1804 — It was unanimously resolved, — First — That it having been declared, at the formation of this corps, that the officers commanding the same should be chosen by the voice of the majority of the individuals composing it, which system was actually followed at the appointment of all the officers, in the first instance — and this also being the practice of all other volunteer corps, as well as the understood meaning of the act of Parliament on this subject, we, the members of this company, do declare, that we consider this right to remain with us at this time; and that it will be so long as we act together as a volunteer body. — Secondly — That we have learnt with considerable surprise, that, on the application of Serjeant Rose, sent by the voice of the company, for the vacant

situation of second lieutenant, he was refused, on the ground of a stranger to the company having already received the appointment — and that even without the least notice thereto being given to us. — Thirdly — That the company cannot but consider themselves, in this instance, treated with unmerited contempt; and are therefore determined not to act but under officers who have been regularly proposed to them, and received their approbation. — Fourthly — That these resolutions, after having received our signatures, shall be presented to our colonel commandant, by one or more members of the company, in the hope that he will be pleased to take them into his immediate consideration, and return us that favourable answer to our feelings which we flatter ourselves, from his known attention to the welfare of the regiment, and the rights of individuals composing it, he will not hesitate to do. With proper deference, we subscribe ourselves, &c. &c. &c. (Signed by several members of the company.)

Upon receiving this billet-doux, it appears, that Mr. Colonel Tierney repaired to Mr. Secretary Yorke, who, of course, required a statement in writing, which, after a conciliatory effort had been made by his direction, was sent him under date of the 10th instant, in the following words:

SIR — I send you herewith an exact copy of the resolutions of the 3d company of the Loyal Southwark Volunteers, the substance of which I yesterday communicated to you; they are signed by one serjeant, and by all but four of the privates; the ensign (both the captain and lieutenant having some days back obtained permission to resign) appears not to have known of the proceeding. — According to your directions I this morning attended the parade, and, in the presence of the whole regiment, after stating the nature of the offence, ordered the men who had signed the resolutions, to deliver up their arms and accoutrements, which they accordingly did. I informed them that I should lay before you the circumstances of their conduct, and wait to know his Majesty's pleasure upon it. — With respect to the nomination of officers having been given to the members of the association when the corps was first embodied, the fact undoubtedly is as stated in the resolutions; but I never understood that occasional vacancies were to be filled up by the choice, and at the pleasure of the company in which they might happen to occur; and I have uniformly and publicly declared, that after the regiment was once formed, I could allow of no further elections. — In the only case of a vacancy, which, excepting that now in dispute, has taken place since our original establishment, I recommended the new officer to the lord lieutenant, without, in any way, consulting the privates of the company to which he was to belong, and his appointment was received as a matter of course. — I cannot allow myself to conclude without stating to you, that, however culpable, in a military point of view, the conduct of the individuals in question may have been, I have every reason to rely on their attachment to his Majesty, and their readiness to meet any danger in the defence of their country. — I must beg that you will, as soon as possible, give me your instructions as to what further steps I am to take in this very unpleasant business. — I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c. — GEORGE TIERNEY.

Next comes the letter of Mr. Secretary Yorke to the Deputy Lord Lieutenant of the county of Surrey, which I shall insert, without stopping, at present, to inquire, how Mr. Yorke came to communicate at all, on this subject, directly with the Commanding Officer of a Corps. Lord Teignmouth, in consequence of the illness of Lord Onslow, is, it seems, acting Lord Lieutenant of the county, and to him, of course, Mr. Yorke's letter was addressed, under the date of the 12th of January, 1804.

My Lord,—I have the honor of transmitting to your lordship the copy of a letter I have received from Lieutenant-Colonel Tierney, commanding the Loyal Southwark Volunteers, with its enclosure, being a copy of the resolutions of the 3d company of that corps, respecting the election of its officers; and I am to acquaint your lordship, that having laid these papers before the King, his Majesty has commanded me to express his *perfect approbation* of Lieutenant-Colonel Tierney's conduct on this occasion, and his concern that the company in question should entertain so *erroneous an opinion* of the terms on which the loyal tender of their services was accepted, *it never having been his Majesty's intention that the successive vacancies which might happen amongst the officers of the corps should be filled up in the manner which has been supposed*. The corps being once established, his Majesty undoubtedly expects that your lordship, as representing his Lieutenant in the county of Surrey, will recommend proper persons to fill up the vacancies as they may arise among the officers, in the full confidence that the commanding officer of the corps will from time to time be consulted as to the merits and qualifications of such persons as may have pretensions to succeed.—It is my duty further to state, that his Majesty has observed, with the most serious regret, the great breach of discipline committed by the 3d company of Loyal Southwark Volunteers, in assembling together without the order or permission of their officers, and, when so assembled, in discussing and determining upon questions intimately connected with the military subordination of the corps to which they belong.—And I am to announce to your lordship, that it is his Majesty's pleasure that your lordship should immediately make known to Lieutenant-Colonel Tierney, that his Majesty entertains a just expectation that the good sense, loyalty, and public spirit of the individuals composing the company in question, will induce them to acknowledge the impropriety of the line of conduct into which they have been betrayed.—I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

C. YORKE.

The following is the letter of Lord Teignmouth to Mr. Colonel Tierney, covering the letter of Mr. Yorke, and dated 14th January, 1804.

SIR,—Enclosed I have the honor to transmit to you an extract of a letter which I have this day received from Mr. Yorke, on the subject of your communication to him of Tuesday last.—If, contrary to the expectations expressed in Mr. Yorke's letter, the individuals of the company in question should unfortunately persist in the improper line of conduct into which they have been inadvertently betrayed, I am in that case instructed to

inform you, that it is his Majesty's pleasure that the services of those individuals, who shall adhere to resolutions so adverse to a proper subordination, shall be discontinued.—In this case, I have to request that you will hold the arms and accoutrements, which may have been issued to them out of the public stores, at my disposal.—I have the honor to be, Sir, &c. &c.

TEIGNMOUTH.

The "regimental orders," as they are called, of Citizen Colonel Tierney close this list of documents. They are dated on the 15th instant, and are thus expressed.

Lieut.-Colonel Tierney cannot make the above communication to the regiment [the communication consisted of all the letters above inserted] without expressing his *high sense of the steadiness and strict attention to military discipline* preserved by the Loyal Southwark Volunteers at the parade of Tuesday the 10th inst.—In the command of the Loyal Southwark Volunteers, it has been, as it always will be, the uniform endeavours of Lieut.-Col. Tierney to *consult the convenience, and to meet the wishes of the officers and privates*. To this he has every inducement, in common with others who command volunteer corps, and in addition, the strong incitement of a *grateful recollection of the many acts of personal kindness* he has so repeatedly received from most of the individuals who compose the regiment.—To him, therefore, any rigorous exercise of authority must be doubly painful; but no consideration either of gratitude or interest, can be regarded in the performance of that military duty which he, who holds a commission from the King, is bound, without fear or affection, to the best of his judgment, faithfully to discharge.—Lieut.-Col. Tierney is persuaded, that the confidence his Majesty has been graciously pleased to express in the loyalty, the good sense, and the public spirit of the individuals of the 3d company, will insure the continuance of those exertions which, with so much credit to themselves, they have hitherto displayed, and stimulate them to promote and maintain that spirit of subordination, which, at a moment like the present, constitutes the surest and most honorable test of *zeal in the common cause*.

And this coaxing whining stuff, is called "regimental orders!" This Citizen Colonel may know how to win the hearts of an unarmed rabble; but how to gain and preserve the respect of men in arms, men who see and who bear about them, the sure and certain sign of their power, he knows no more than a baby at the breast. One cannot but smile, to hear the poor faltering Colonel expressing "*his high sense of the steadiness and strict attention to military discipline*" preserved by the corps on the 10th instant, the very day that the refractory company *threw down their arms!* As to his "*high sense*," that is an unintelligible phrase; nor is it very certain what this sort of Colonel may regard as "*strict military discipline*;" but we all know, that men throwing down their arms and leaving their ranks cannot, by any possible construction of language, be denominated "*steadiness*!"—

Never were men in arms yet won by coaxing; and the Citizen Colonel may rest assured, that all his "uniform endeavours to "meet the wishes of his officers and privates," and that all "his grateful recollection of the many acts of personal kindness," will render his men the more refractory, and will, if often repeated, very soon leave him at perfect leisure to exercise his corps at Somerset-House. Over this corps, indeed, he has something like substantial authority; it consists of volunteers of a peculiar description. This is by far the safest string of the Colonel's bow, and will, most assuredly, never fail him, as long as he is Treasurer of the Navy.—Some persons say, that, supposing this determination of government to be perfectly proper, it has been begun in the person of one, who was very lately silenced from bawling for popular privileges and independence, and, therefore, begun in the most ungracious and irritating example that could be made; and, indeed, who would not have chosen almost any other commander, and any other men, whereby to begin the reformation? But, the die is now cast: the King's determination has been declared; and, if it be receded from, if the government yield, or if any compromise take place, then but, why should I sound the alarm any more? It is now two years since I began to do so. Evil after evil has come upon the country, just in the time and the manner foretold by me. All my humble endeavours to prevent these evils have been rewarded with injury to my property, and with calumnies and curses upon myself. The ministerial hirelings and base dependents seem to regard me as a very selfish person. They seem to think, that I am endeavouring to save the kingdom for some purpose of my own; and they really speak and act as if their first, and, indeed, their only object, was to thwart me in my sinister pursuit! How they came to take up this notion, I cannot imagine; for, though, after having earned a handsome fortune in a foreign land, I sacrificed it for the sake of my King and country, and though I rendered that country greater services than ever was rendered it by any private individual, I defy any one to say, that I ever, either directly or indirectly, asked for, or received, any reward, favour, or thanks, from any branch of the government. Not a penny of the public money ever came into my pocket; I never, like the hired slaves who revile me, lived upon the labour of the people, and I never shall so live; yet these slaves use all their cunning and impudence to inculcate a belief, that I am the

enemy of the people. I have hitherto treated these calumnies with silent contempt; but the times are now approaching, when, if uncontradicted, they may lead to dangerous consequences.——Begging pardon for this digression, I shall now return to the subject of the volunteer system, and state some new instances of its blessed effects. A corps not far from Chester has, on account of the disputes, and the mutinous state that grew out of them, been dismissed till February, to give them time to cool! The following account has been transmitted me from one of the principle sea-ports:—"The men who call themselves volunteers of this and the neighbouring town, have for these last two months done garrison duty upon Sundays only. Christmas and New Year's days falling upon Sundays, the volunteers petitioned the general officer to be excused duty on those two festivals, that they might dine comfortably with their families. This request was complied with, and having gained the wish of their hearts on those days, they have now written a round robin to the General to desire they might be put off guard altogether.——This, however, is a request that I suppose will not be complied with. On Thursday and Saturday last, which are general muster days, and days of exercise, not one-tenth part of them made their appearance. A serjeant threw his halbert away upon the Grand-Parade, in view of upwards of a thousand people, damned his officer, and swore he would serve no more. This I was witness to myself. The same day two captains resigned: these two gentlemen quitted the service, because they wanted to wear white belts instead of black ones, which the inspecting field officer would not allow. These and ten thousand other things appear to my view every day, and convince me that not one corps in the whole service can, upon their present system, be depended upon for one hour." What a wholesome example is here afforded to the regular troops, in the same garrison! God defend us; for our state is most fearful!—At Oxford, the loyal volunteers, commanded by Sir Digby Mackworth, have been, not selling out, but buying out of the corps, at the expense of nine pounds per man. They stated, and, I dare say, very truly, that they could not continue their attendance in the corps, without material injury to their concerns." This is a confirmation of what I have frequently stated, that it is impossible for tradesmen to continue in the corps, without ruining their business. And yet Mr. Pitt wishes

to triple the number of exercising days! What a dangerous thing it is for an eloquent statesman to mount upon a hobby-horse!—The dissensions in the Southwark volunteers increase as I write. The newspapers of this morning (Friday), say, that "in consequence of Mr. Tierney's insisting to fill up vacancies of officers, the Capt. of the light infantry company resigned, and his company laid down their arms."—In the Queen's Royal Pimlico volunteers, who are commanded by Lord Hobart, and whose colours were lately presented to them, with so much pomp, at Ranelagh, a man has been fined for absenting himself from drills. He pleaded, that all the days of absence, for which he was fined, were Sundays, and his religious principles would not allow him to attend on that day. For this defence there is even a sanction, I believe, in the act of Parliament. The man was fined, however, and declared his intention of withdrawing his name in consequence. Here is a new source of dissatisfaction; and, if a very few more such instances occur, there will, undoubtedly, be a loud cry raised amongst the dissenters, which a meeting of their pastors in the West has already prepared us to expect.—In the midst of all this fining and muletting and levying by distress and purchasing freedom from volunteer service, out comes Mr. Colonel and Counsellor Erskine's opinion, published in the newspapers, apparently by his own authority, flatly contradicting the joint opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General, and stating, that members of volunteer corps have a right to resign whenever they please! "Call you this backing your friends?" This is the same Colonel and Counsellor, who, because Mr. Windham foretold the consequences which have already arisen from the Volunteer System, asserted that if that gentleman's words had been uttered out of the Parliament House, "they would have amounted to a misdemeanor!" This is the gentleman who has now published five columns of confused verbose law opinion, bolstered up at the head and foot with a fulsome disgusting eulogy on the people and on his own political principles and conduct. This is the gentleman, who expressed his indignation at what Mr. Fox said relative to the Volunteer System: this is one of the gentlemen, to whom the ministers look for support!—If this Colonel and Counsellor's opinion be correct, all the fines, &c. that have been imposed, have been imposed contrary to law; the seizures have been illegal, and are, of course, good ground of

action, in the Court of King's Bench. Yet the newspapers are filled with accounts of finings and mulettings even now going on, in every part of the kingdom. Every way that we look, we see only confusion growing upon confusion out of this ill-judged experiment made by our "safe" and "prudent" politicians, in the pursuit of low popularity, under the guidance of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Sheridan; for, it was the former of these gentlemen that first proposed the system of volunteers, in lieu of the general levy, and it will not be soon forgotten that the latter projected the ever famous vote of thanks.—But, it is no matter, who was the father or the fosterer of the system: the system exists, and the dangers of it are generally felt throughout the country. It may yet be done away; there is yet time to save the nation from its menacing and hideous effects; but that time will be passed the moment a compromise takes place, and really the proceedings with respect to the Southwark corps seem to indicate that a compromise will be the result. Sincerely, however, I hope that it will not; and, though many of the base newspapers are, I perceive, already beginning to turn against the government upon this trying occasion, I do hope, that, here, at least, they will make a stand, as they must be convinced, that the very first step that they recede, will, by every reflecting man, be regarded as the signal for the destruction of the monarchy. If they show a becoming resolution, they will be supported by the people as well as by the Parliament; but, if they yield, even in the most trifling degree, upon this all-important point, all the timid all the selfish all the "safe" politicians will instantly desert them. One concession will lead to the demand of another concession, till, as in other similar cases, resistance will be attempted when it will be too late. Now, therefore, is the appointed time, and I venture to add, I hope not profanely, now is the day of political salvation! Let the way be open for whomsoever pleases to resign, but let those who remain, let all those who have arms in their hands, submit, implicitly submit, to the orders of the King. Enough and more than enough will be ready to serve upon almost any terms, that his Majesty shall think proper to prescribe; and those who are not, can never be of any use in the defence of the country.

The importance of this subject must apologize for the omission of the other topics intended to be treated of.